5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

actually has provided the Orokaiva with a reliable and substantial cash income for some years. This is true to a very minor extent for the third cash crop promoted on a major scale, copra, which was grown especially near the coast. The coffee is processed and sent to a co-operative factory as parchment, for which purpose many villages own one or more hullers. Copra is supposed to be dried in driers built in the villages, but the one I saw in Inonda had broken down and seems unlikely to be repaired.

Clothing. The traditional Orokaiva costume was a skirt for women and a perineal band for men (Williams 1930: 32–4). Boys went naked until some time before puberty, girls until after puberty seclusion. These garments were made of barkcloth obtained from trees which were mostly grown in gardens for this purpose. Larger garments were used for wrapping round the shoulders in cold weather, and also for shrouds. This mode of dress was abandoned in the 1950s, so that today the Orokaiva buy their clothes almost entirely from trade stores and at mission bazaars. Traditional dress is used for dances, initiation ceremonies and other special occasions. For this reason bark-cloth trees (such as the *ajimo*) are found rather infrequently in gardens today. Bark-cloth is still being painted with decorations in traditional style and with a mixture of traditional and trade dyes.

Housing. Villages are in flat clearings where the grass is kept scrupulously cut and from which the women regularly sweep away rubbish. Houses (*bande*) are built in two facing rows, each house normally being occupied by one nuclear family. The roof of sago thatch slopes down from a central ridgepole. Wall construction has been in various styles since Australian contact, but today vertically set sago-branch midribs are becoming old fashioned in some areas and vertically laid shingles, about 6 ft. by 5⅜ ins., are being adopted in villages desiring to show they are tuned in to modern life. A great number of tree species must be used for the various parts of the house. Materials are taken as much as possible from reverted gardens which contain small trees. For a number of purposes large trees with trunks of high-quality slow-growing wood are considered essential. These trees have to be obtained from areas of bush much older than the usual reverted gardens. On the Mount Lamington foothills, such areas are very scarce. Trees of this quality tend to be the subject of gift exchange as between families, a subject to be discussed below.

Though it is each man's responsibility to build his own house, it is usual to call on helpers, especially sons, brothers and brothers-in-law, to help with construction. Recent changes in house construction include the increasing use of nails, though not for flooring; a remarkable increase in house sizes; the change in wall construction already mentioned, and a number of measures to 'improve' hygiene: lavatories, rubbish holes, pens for chickens, windows. The windows, an innovation promoted by the government to combat tuberculosis, are considered too uncomfortable in cold, wind or rain. Accordingly, they are always covered over with pieces of timber which can be removed if the patrol officer insists.[6]

Bachelors' houses (*oro*) are of precisely the same size and construction as the ordinary *bande*. The more prominent men of the village build themselves small meeting platforms, covered with a roof but lacking walls, for the entertainment of visitors (*arara*). In the gardens, we find small houses with an earth floor, no walls, but a platform just below roof level. People sit in these garden houses

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 25]

only permissive rights at Inonda or any nearby place. He has been living at Inonda for some years on a temporary basis and is dependent for gardening land on his relatives by marriage at Inonda. He has also been loaned two pieces of gardening land at Hohota, where he used to conduct a church school, and is obliged to accept whatever land is made available to him. One of his gardens in Hohota is planted on land held by his mother's sister's husband's brother's son, and the other on the land of a senior deacon of the Hohota church.

Two other gardens with recognizable boundaries have been made amongst the main block of gardens. One was made in 1960 by an Inonda man who has since died, and the other by a man of the Jegotumo lineage (of the Andiriha clan) who was born in Inonda but now lives in Hohota village. The sub-lineage to which he belongs has rights to at least two areas of Inonda land. It was presumably to affirm his rights that he made a garden on one of these lands, for he does most of his gardening in Hohota, where his lineage has ample land. Inonda folk say that his rights in the Inonda land will 'live' while he or his son work the land and 'visit' the village (i.e. take part in appropriate village activities such as church celebrations, taro festivals, weddings and funerals). If he did not work the land, they say, then his sons (who are still small children) would not be entitled to make use of it.

- Informants claimed that a man in need has the right to make gardens on the land of the mother's brother though this is exercised only if it is within walking distance of the planter's village. The only instance noted was that of a man who began preparing a new garden on his mother's brother's land at Urio just after our survey was completed.

Hunting and foraging rights: Any primary member of the Andiriha and Jego'undi sub-clans in Inonda can hunt or forage on any portion of the Inonda land which is covered with virgin bush, kunai grass, or second growth. Likewise any villager may take such timber or firewood as he needs from the virgin bush, and although it is said that one may also take these

things from any area of second growth it appeared from our observations that people seldom took wood from second growth land other than areas which they themselves had previously planted. Permissive members of the sub-clans exercise the same hunting and foraging rights as primary members.

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Contingent members of the Inonda sub-clans (or their husbands in the case of women), are entitled to hunt on Inonda lands, though they are expected to notify the villagers before doing so. Contingent members of the sub-clans do not in fact come to forage. During our stay one contingent member of the Andiriha sub-clan and the husband of another came to hunt on several occasions. Both live in villages within two hours walk of Inonda. It is said that those from further away rarely come, and then only to acquire meat for an important feast.

On rare occasions, when they have inadequate meat for a forthcoming feast which involves the whole clan, clansmen from other villages come to Inonda and make a formal request for permission to hunt there. They remain for several days and hunt with the help of the local people, smoke the meat and then return home. The Inonda people are then invited to partake of the feast in the village which is holding the celebration, and will be given gifts of garden produce on their departure.

Only three Inonda men exercise hunting rights outside Inonda land. The first two are the members of the Jego'undi sub-clan. They were given hunting rights to a piece of land which abuts the Inonda land to the south-east by their mother's brother shortly before his death. He lived in the adjacent village of Urio and had no children of his own. The other Inonda man with hunting rights outside the lands of the sub-clans is the councillor. He is the eldest surviving child of the previous sub-clan leader, and it also may be significant that he has attained a higher standard of education then any other member of the sub-clan. He was given hunting rights to a portion of land which abuts the Inonda lands to the south-west, by his mother's father who was also the man who gave him his name. The donor was an elder of the Tandai'undi clan of Ajoro village and made the

CHAPTER 3 - OTHER PROPERTY

Housing

342 319 423 All materials for building the Inonda village were acquired from land and trees in which the people hold rights of one form or another.(1) The framework is usually made of wange saplings and the floor of black palm. Sago thatch is used for the roof and split sago midribs for the walls. Saplings for the framework may be obtained from any virgin bush or second growth though most people said they used saplings which they had cut during the course of clearing new gardens.

Sago for the roof and walls must be acquired from one's own trees unless they are inadequate, in which case it is necessary to negotiate with someone who has a surplus. Of the eight houses in the village, sago for three of them was obtained from trees belonging to the household head and for three others from trees belonging to the father of the household head. One, who has only permissive status in the village, obtained sago from his daughter's husband's father's trees. The last man has insufficient trees and obtained thatch from trees on his mother's clan's land in a neighbouring village.

Tools and equipment

412 422 Very few agricultural implements are used. Each adult male has an axe for felling bush and every man and woman has a bush knife which is used in weeding, clearing and harvesting. Planting is done with a digging stick. There are no other gardening implements in regular use.

412 495 The axes and knives were bought from local trade stores and though actual prices paid are not known, current re-

(1) With the exception of a few sheets of iron used for ridging and eaves which were collected from ex-army dumps.